

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /026 W

----- 014393

O R 101743Z DEC 74

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 5018

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 29642

EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM THE AMBASSADOR

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR FR UR

SUBJECT: CSCE: FRENCH SUPPORT FOR HELSINKI SUMMIT

REF: STATE 270L86

1. QUAI D'ORSAY SECRETARY GENERAL DE COURCEL RECEIVED

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ME AT NOON TODAY SO THAT I COULD CARRY OUT REFTEL

INSTRUCTIONS. AS I ANTICIPATED, DE COURCEL EXPLAINED THAT FOREIGN MINISTER SAUVAGNARGUES WOULD BE COMPLETELY TIED UP WITH THE EC-9 SUMMIT CONFERENCE ALL DAY AND EVENING, AND REQUESTED THAT I MAKE MY DEMARCHE AT THE SECRETARY GENERAL LEVEL.

2. I MADE THE POINTS LISTED REFTEL, STRESSING OUR CONCERN AT THE APPARENT GOF RETREAT FROM THE ALLIANCE PRECONDITION THAT FINAL RESULTS AT GENEVA WOULD DETERMINE THE WESTERN DECISION ON A HELSINKI SUMMIT. I ALSO EXPRESSED OUR UNHAPPINESS AT THE ABSENCE OF CONSULTATIONS WITH THE ALLIES PRIOR TO GOF'S DECISION TO MOVE TOWARD THE SOVIET POSITION.

3. DE COURCEL RESPONDED THAT OUR INTERPRETATION OF THE FRENCH-SOVIET SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE IS COMPLETELY UNFOUNDED, AND THERE IS NO CAUSE FOR CONCERN WITH RESPECT TO FRANCE'S CONTINUED ADHERENCE TO THE PRECONDITION THAT STAGE II RESULTS MUST BE CONSIDERED SATISFACTORY BEFORE ANY COMMITMENT TO A SUMMIT CAN BE MADE.

4. DE COURCEL THEN REVIEWED THE HISTORY OF THE FRENCH POSITION ON CSCE TO TRY TO PROVE HIS POINT. HE SAID THAT UP UNTIL LAST SUMMER, THE GOF WAS MUCH MORE RESTRICTIVE THAN THE USG ON THIS ISSUE. THE USG WAS CONSISTENTLY SAYING YES TO A CSCE SUMMIT PROVIDED STAGE II RESULTS WERE SATISFACTORY, WHILE THE FRENCH REFUSED EVEN THAT LANGUAGE. BY WAY OF ILLUSTRATION, HE SAID THAT AT THE PITSUNDA SUMMIT LAST MARCH, POMPIDOU TOLD BREZHNEV THAT NO DECISION ABOUT A SUMMIT COULD BE MADE UNTIL AFTER THE RESULTS OF STAGE II WERE AVAILABLE FOR STUDY.

5. AT THE PARIS SUMMIT JUST CONCLUDED, THE VLADIVOSTOK COMMUNIQUE WAS ON THE TABLE, DE COURCEL SAID, AND HE INSISTED THAT THE BREZHNEV-GISCARD STATEMENT DID NOT GO AS FAR AS THE BREZHNEV-FORD STATEMENT. HE THEN ANALYZED THE LANGUAGE OF THE TWO COMMUNIQUEES TO DEMONSTRATE THIS. HE SAID THAT THE FRENCH TERM "DE BONNES PREMISSES" SHOULD BE TRANSLATED AS "SOME GOOD PROSPECTS" RATHER
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THAN "GOOD PREREQUISITES" FOR THE CONCLUSION OF THE CONFERENCE. HE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING SENTENCE WHICH SAYS "FRANCE AND THE USSR DECLARE THEMSELVES RESOLVED TO INTENSIFY THEIR EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THE SUSPENDED QUESTIONS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK IMPOSED BY THE SCHEDULE AGREED AT HELSINKI AND BY THE CONCLUSION OF THE SECOND PHASE OF THE CONFERENCE." HE SAID THAT THIS CLEARLY COMMITS THE GOF TO

ACHIEVING SATISFACTORY RESULTS IN STAGE II AS A REQUIRE-
MENT FOR A SUMMIT. THE VLADIVOSTOK COMMUNIQUE HAS NO
SUCH LANGUAGE, DE COURCEL ARGUED, AND IT WAS VERY DIFFI-
CULT TO EXTRACT THAT SENTENCE FROM BREZHNEV DURING THE
TALKS IN PARIS LAST WEEKEND.

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ACTION SS-25

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----- 014432

O R 101743Z DEC 74

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 5019

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

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EXDIS

6. IN ANY EVENT, DE COURCEL WANTED TO ASSURE US THAT
THE GOF IS STILL FULLY COMMITTED TO THE ALLIANCE PRE-
CONDITION, AND THAT THE PARIS COMMUNIQUE BRINGS THE

FRENCH POSITION MORE INTO ALIGNMENT WITH THAT OF THE
USG AS EXPRESSED IN THE MOSCOW AND VLADIVOSTOK COMMUNI-
QUES. IN LIGHT OF VLADIVOSTOK, THE GOF COULD NOT AGREE
TO LESS.

7. I EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE REASSURANCE, AND
SAID THAT THERE WOULD BE FURTHER OPPORTUNITIES FOR EX-
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PLORATION OF THIS ISSUE IN BRUSSELS AND MARTINIQUE.

8. AS FOOTNOTE TO FOREGOING, I WANT TO POINT OUT THAT I
DID NOT MENTION GISCARD'S PRESS CONFERENCE AT ORLY
AIRPORT (PARA. 3 REFTEL) BECAUSE HE USED THE TERM
"COMPLETE CONVERGENCE OF VIEWS" ONLY IN CONNECTION WITH
THE MIDDLE EAST. THIS WAS CONFUSED BY A NUMBER OF NEWS-
PAPER REPORTS. I DID MENTION SOVIET PRESS SPOKESMAN
ZAMYATIN'S UNAMBIGUOUS STATEMENT THAT THE CSCE SUMMIT
WILL TAKE PLACE IN HELSINKI DURING THE FIRST HALF OF
L975. DE COURCEL DISMISSED THIS AS A TYPICAL SOVIET
PRESSURE TACTIC WHICH DID NOT SUCCEED.
RUSH

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